1: Karsten--505
116, 173, 823

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"Although the Indians have a few traditions, these traditions seem not to reach far back in history. What they know about the past, bears a strongly mythical character. The present-day Jibaros of the Upano and Santiago know for instance nothing about the big towns or villages, Sevilla de Oro, Logroño, and Mendoza, which some three hundred years ago were situated in their own land and which they themselves destroyed. They know that in former times they have carried on many wars with the whites and that the latter are, as it were, their hereditary enemies, but their real historical traditions hardly go back more than three or four generations in time."

1; Karsten--513
116, 173

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The myths which I shall relate in this part of my book were noted down by me among the Indians of the Upano, Santiago and upper Pastaza. Later inquiries have convinced me that they are also current --although partly in somewhat different versions--among the Achuares of the middle Pastaza and among the Aguarunas, and they may therefore be said to be the common intellectual property of all Jibaro tribes in Ecuador and Peru. Nearly all of them are cultural myths, i. e. they try to give an explanation of the origin of the culture of the Jibaro race in some of its aspects. I do not think that other myths of this category exist; on the other hand, these related here are known to the majority of the older members of all tribes. Nor have I, in spite of repeated inquiries, found any other kinds of myth. If such exist they are, at any rate, not commonly known; only a few of the older men may, perhaps, have knowledge of them. The myths here related are of special importance as throwing an interesting light upon many customs and religious ideas of the Indians. In fact, without knowing for instance the myth of the Earth-mother Nungüi it would be impossible to understand an essential side of the culture of the Jibaros. Similarly, the myth concerning the first Tsantsa-feast of the Jibaros--at a time when they still had animal shape--will give us a good idea of the way in which their wars are carried on and their victory-feasts celebrated."

13: Rivet--235-236 (no date) 1908 Jívaro-1
116, 173

The Indians have a confused legend of the deluge: in very ancient times a large cloud fell from the sky which changed into rain and caused the death of all the inhabitants of the earth: only an old man and his two sons succeeded in escaping, and they are the ones who repopulated the world. One of these sons was cursed by the father for making fun of him, and the Jívaros are descended from him (1). However, I think the influence of the Biblical legend is too evident. The tradition of the cursed son is found again in the [236] account of Father Prieto (2), but according to him, the survivors must have been a man and a woman who found themselves stranded on a high mountain in a cave together with all the animals. Gonzalez Suarez reports another legend, more interesting, for it is evidently a totemic myth. When the deluge occurred, two brothers escaped death by taking refuge on a high mountain, which rose higher as the flood increased. When the water retreated, they went out in search of food, and on their return, were greatly astonished to find viands in the shelter that they had constructed. In order to clear up the mystery, one of them hid himself and saw two parrots (guacamayos) enter the hut in the form of women, who prepared the meal. Leaving his hiding place quickly, he was able to seize one of these birds, married her, and from this marriage three boys

1. Gonzalez Suarez. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., Volume VI, page 224.
2. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit. V. II, page 64.

and three girls were born, which was the beginning of the Jíbaro race (3). Molina (4), the source from which the Ecuadorian author took this tradition, attributes it to the Cañaris, and in his first studies, Gonzalez Suarez (5) does the same, but later researches led him he says, to attribute it to the Jíbaros. It is regrettable that he does not indicate the reasons which decided him in this correction.

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3. Gonzalez Suarez. Aborígenes de Imbabura y del Carchi, op. cit., page 28.--Prehistoria americana, op. cit., page 17. According to the same author, the tribes of Mainas and other peoples in the eastern region probably had the same legend on the subject of their origin.

4. Christoval de Molina. An account of the Fables and Rites of the Yncas; translation by Cl. R. Markham of a manuscript in the Bibliotheque nationale de Madrid (written between 1573 and 1583) in: Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas. Hakluty Society, no. 48. Londres, 1873, in octavo, pp. 8-9.

5. Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio sobre los Cañaris, op. cit., page 10.

Of all the tribes, the Muratos have the traditions which have been studied the most; they have been collected by Von Hassel. (1)

Here is one concerning the creation of the world: the great Spirit amused himself by making objects of clay, he constructed a big, blue vase and placed it at the height of the sky. On the subject of the deluge, the legend is more detailed: a Murato had been fishing in a lake of the Pastaza, a little crocodile swallowed his hook and the fisher killed him; the mother of the crocodiles was very much upset and beat the water with her tail in such a manner that she inundated all the territory surrounding the lake. All died except one man who [237] climbed up a pivai palm tree, where he stayed for many days of constant night; from time to time he let fall one of the fruits of the pivai, but he always heard it fall in the water. Finally one day the result was a dry noise; he then descended the tree, constructed a house, set up a field for cultivation, and, with a piece of the flesh of his own body put in the earth, made a woman whom he married.

Finally, here is the origin of the races: at the beginning of the world, all men lived in a big subterranean cave, the entrance to which was guarded by a tiger. An intelligent and courageous man, in order to give freedom to his fellow creatures, attacked the animal and killed it; the prisoners prepared to leave, but as they were very dirty, they heated water in a big jug to wash themselves: the first to come out of this operation

1. Von Hassel, op. cit., pages 68, 69 and 70.

became the whites, those who followed were the Indians, because the water was already dirty; the last one remained black.

31: Danielsson--89 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 173, 202

"Indirect communication is very limited, consisting only of some few standardized messages circulated by the signal-drum to overcome distance in space, and of some orally preserved traditions to overcome distance in time."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

expeditions entered the region from the Andean highlands, but several ended disastrously and none of them resulted in permanent colonization.[21] One of the few "friendly" gestures reported for the tribe during this time occurred in 1767, when they gave a Spanish missionizing expedition "gifts," which included the skulls of Spaniards who had apparently been killed earlier by the Jívaro.[22]

Interestingly, the present-day Jívaro seem to have no memory of their uprising of 1599. The only oral tradition that I was able to obtain which apparently concerned the Spaniards was this, from one of my oldest informants:

> A very long time ago there were the *ai apačī* ["*ai*" white men]. They were many. They were all of bone to their elbows and to their knees. They could move their arms and legs only beyond their elbows and knees. They had shirts and pants. They were fierce and tall. There were many, many of them, and they had women and children. All were the same in not being able to move except for their forearms and lower legs. They didn't have hats, but wore something like the helmets of the [present-day Ecuadorian] soldiers. These men had machetes of iron that they used for killing. They carried their machetes on the left hip. The machetes were somewhat yellow. These machetes had handles of human bone. They said that they had killed many whites with their machetes. They also had shoes. These whites had *maču* . . . they rode on top of these. I think these must have been horses. The *šuarā* were scared of them. These whites also had *mua*. I do not know what they were.

The informant explained that the bone extending to the knees and elbows of the *ai apačī* was something like the shell of a turtle. It seems evident that he was recounting a tradition concerning men in armor and helmets and carrying swords. Since they had shoes, the informant discounted the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 173 The Jívaro have an oral tradition regarding the circum-
648 stances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:
177
439 In the old days, all the Jívaro [*untsuri šuarā*] lived near the
[131] Río Paute. Then two Jívaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutanangoza, they encountered two Macabeos, who wore kilts like the *šuarā*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jivaroan dialect different
[412] from theirs [Achuara?]. The Macabeos asked, "Do you have
[411] pigs?" The Jívaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of
[231] the Jívaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs to Macas. The two *šuarā* returned downstream and told their people:

"We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

[411] All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy
[412] with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

[291] When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

[231] So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos returned the visit of the *šuarä*.

With this initiation of trade relations between the two groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[25] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[26]

Macas remained the only significant source of Western-manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year, the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza, to the south on the Río Zamora.[27] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish) sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

28. Vacas Galindo, 1895, pp. 49–50; Anonymous, 1952, p. 38. 000
29. Karsten, 1935, p. 8.
30. Anonymous, 1952, pp. 32–33; 38.
31. Platt, 1932, pp. 93–94.
32. Most of the following historical information is derived from oral accounts of older Ecuadorian colonists and Jívaro. [173]
33. See Stirling, 1938, Plates 11–17.
34. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 138; 141. These figures include the population of Macas. The Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey counted 256 Jívaro houses in the same region in 1956.
35. Drown, 1961, pp. 22, 31, 58–9, 140–44.
36. Macabeo and Jívaro oral histories. [173]

CHAPTER II

1. Although rainfall is fairly heavy, it is well distributed throughout the year, and the distinct seasonal differences found in much of tropical forest South America are not as evident here. Short term records are available for rainfall and temperature at the Ecuadorian settlements of Macas, Méndez, and Gualaquiza, all in the higher western portion of the region. These reports of annual rainfall range from 1,992 mm. at Gualaquiza to 2,599 mm. at Méndez, with the minimum for a single month at any station being 95 mm. Recorded average temperatures from these same stations range from 21.4 to 25.2 degrees Centigrade (Ferdon, 1950, pp. 73–74). 24 132
2. Cf. Steere, 1950, p. 85. 000
3. In an earlier paper (Harner, 1962, p. 269) I questioned whether the Jívaro had any gods or goddesses, but additional field study and analysis have led me to be less certain of the classificatory status of Nunuí and, in fact, of the definition of "gods" and "goddesses" in general. [128]
4. Demons lack blood. [176]

CHAPTER III

1. Based upon a Summer Institute of Linguistics aerial survey in 1956–57 (Glen Turner, personal communication). The Jívaro population near the Macuma and Yaupi missions, comprising some eighty houses, is specifically excluded in the total here. 361 161 114

   The Summer Institute of Linguistics personnel were employing an intentionally conservative estimate of five persons per dwelling, which was used for earlier population estimates by the author (Harner, 1962, p. 259; 1963, p. 9; 1968b, p. 363). Additional research has led the author to revise the estimate of average household population upward to nine, and this is the figure employed in the present study. It seems impossible, however, to reconcile my results with those